

612 19 cont. groups in one territory, and, secondly, it appears
621 that a genealogical group lives scattered over several territories.
Both deviations from the initially advanced principle demand
closer elaboration.

166 In the first place, certain historical factors which contributed
178 to the development of this situation should be pointed out.
621 These are increase in population, greater security since the
year 1905, and irrigation by which sawah cultivation became
possible in districts hitherto unsuited for this, with the result
that migration of small groups took place with much greater
frequency than was previously necessary or possible. To an
increasing degree, strangers requested permission to settle in
a certain kampong territory (2).

2. Such, at least, is the official
decree; in practice permission is
not asked until the house has al-
ready been built and the sawah
has already been broken.

621 In the second place, the difference in meaning of the term
"kampong territory" at the present time and half a century
ago should be pointed out. At that time the boundary of a
territory coincided with the boundary of the power exercised
by the related group residing in that region. The boundary
changed in proportion to the power exercised by this group
segment. This applied in the first place to /20/ the boundaries
of the present-day kampongs. It also applied to a lesser degree
to the boundaries of the present-day adat communities and
provinces. After the arrival of the Dutch East Indies Government
1621 in the region of the principalities in 1905, maps were made
648 in the course of the first few decades, and the boundaries
631 were indicated on them. The situation at that time was
essentially fixed. Within the established boundaries, displace-
ments of power subsequently took place. Territorial and power
boundaries, therefore, no longer coincided at that time.

346 /75 cont./ In 1939, when I came to Borongloë for the
778 first time, a dilapidated little hut had been built over this
rock. Around the same time attention seems to have been
drawn to this "rock worship" by the Muhammadijah
Association. Shortly after this, people of Borongloë, under
the leadership of the head of the adat community and the
old Imam, constructed a new cottage.

The rock is flat on top. Viewed from above, the greatest
length amounts to about 60 centimeters and the greatest width
to about 40 centimeters. Everywhere it is from 2 to 3
centimeters above the ground. At the time of the recon-
struction, a pointed rock was placed at opposite sides of the
flat rock along the extension of the longitudinal axis, at a
distance from each other of approximately 80 centimeters.
Each of these two rocks jutted about 15 centimeters out of
the ground. In combination with the rock, they make an
impression of eroded mesas on the visitor. Questioned about
this, the head stated that a grave existed here although he
was unable to state with certainty whose grave it was.

[769 The purpose of placing the two rocks seems clear.
178] Externally, the rock worship gave way to grave worship.
The demands of modern times had therefore been met by
doing as they did.

634 At the climax of their inauguration festival, the two
778 last adat community heads of Borongloë stood on this rock.
There they took the oaths of loyalty (aru) of a number of their
kapala and followers.

346 Right by the rock a little house (saukang) has been built.
778 It stands on posts. The floor forms a rectangle of 1.0 by 1.5
meters; the walls consist of transparent braided bamboo.

A fifth post is stuck in the middle of the floor, going right
through it and rising about 30 centimeters above the floor.

This is called the lopped-off house post (benteng polong).

Rock and saukang belong together. Whenever offerings are
[782] made there, a parappo is placed /76/ both by the lopped-off
house post as well as by the flat rock (1).

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[602] /104 cont./ had voluntarily become followers. They lived not only in the vicinity of their master; some resided even outside the Glarangship or regency, and only came if they were called or required protection.

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631 "If a follower found himself in a dispute, if he had committed a misdemeanor which might put him in difficulties, or else if he had been harmed or insulted, he would not turn to his head, his Glarang, or to the regent, but rather to his master, his Karaeng, who acted as his protector, safeguarded his rights, and always tried to help him out of difficulties. It is obvious that the more prominent, the more influential the person who concerns himself with the interests of his follower, the easier it was to obtain justice, the more chance there was to be judged in the right even if one were wrong. Conversely, it was all the easier to go unpunished if one had committed an offense.

"This system of followers underwent such an expansion that not only Anakaraeng, but all nobles, and even well-to-do natives had followers. Consequently, in addition to the division of the /105/ land area into Glarangships and Kalompowan kampongs, there existed a division of residents into nobles, each with his followers, so that everyone of them constituted a power in the regency."

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648 The quotation was long but valuable. Kooreman further points out that the function of the European administration is actually that of a super-karaeng able to provide effective protection for all who ask for it, without any obligations being attached to this. In his opinion, this had as a consequence that in the course of decades the appeal for protection to the anakaraeng decreased, so that their power disappeared at the same time. As a result, little states within the state -- in the sense of a nobleman forming with his followers a unit within the realm -- no longer occurred.

● 178 From the data available at present, it appears that in the
571 course of the last 75 years the forms in which the system of

178 /105 cont./ followers manifested itself have changed. The
571 general characteristics to be met with today are the following:

The higher person is connected with a number of lower ones, his people. The latter work his sawahs in the broadest sense of the word, that is to say, from the first tilling to the delivery of sheaves at his house. They take care of his maize gardens and guard his langsap trees when they bear fruit. They run errands for him in the pasars; they carry wood and water for daily use, do repairs on the house, manufacture the common utensils from bamboo or wood, and finally assist at a festival held by their master by performing the innumerable little tasks. On the other hand, those inferiors who are unmarried and live with their master have their food and clothing provided for them, and there is the chance that their master will let them marry and provide their wedding feast. Once they are married, the couple is provided with a dwelling and has a number of sheaves delivered to its house after the harvest. This lower person then lives apart with his family but remains in daily contact with his master by way of the tasks which he has to perform. Since he remains closely connected with his master, he is permitted to participate in the festivals that break up the monotonous kampong existence, and he shares in the social standing which is displayed on these occasions.

[675] There is never a question of a firm agreement at the beginning of the relationship. The tie may be broken at any moment. Such a rupture, however, always takes place only gradually. An abrupt break is avoided, /106/ because this indicates quarreling and because it is thought to be better if one leaves before the conflict breaks out.

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557 The tie between a higher person and his people is
558 advantageous to both parties in their striving to rise. To lose
571 a follower implies a diminution of social standing for the higher person. Here his generosity to his people is of importance. The superior who has a reputation for making his

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
[558] his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's
protection and help and at the same time the loss of social
standing which the association with the superior casts on him.
Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection
was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position
of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have
a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be
considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower.
Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary.
If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and
if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the
relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is
married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with
a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relation-
ship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that
case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as
newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census,
they were included among the
Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they
will continue to come and help at special events such as
festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before
reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy
people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even
though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation
of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long
as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

- 178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose;
these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar.
In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to
day laborer is an example.

178 The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
441 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
571 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people.
This employment relationship can best be described as that of
followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the
merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here,
too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here,
too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed
salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a
general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with
a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately
goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with
his subordinates.

Large Landownership

471 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the

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1. No figures are available
to indicate precisely when we
can begin to speak of large

571 /112 cont./ compete and of whom one can take advantage,
565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have
his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of
the karaeng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is re-
garded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most
appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaeng group of
[643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing
these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaeng re-
lated group, but who gives evidence of possessing these
qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaeng.
[582] Marriage to a member of the karaeng group is possible in that
case.

156 The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
178 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the
present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost
its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside
it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J.
Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last
general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion,
the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
figure /clerk. -- Ed./ was equipped by him with a number
[648] of personal qualities which the governmental authorities be-
tween 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of
nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this
form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to
maintain himself in his function.

567 /114 cont./ though slaves were despised, insofar as I was able to find out, the treatment which they received cannot have been bad," writes Friedericy (1). According to Friedericy,

1. Ibid.

around 1905 slaves displayed the following chief characteristics:

1. Slaves were made by kidnapping (in time of war), through purchase, and through judicial sentences.
2. Slaves were regarded as persons without rights.
3. Slaves had a special sunráng lower than that of other people.
4. For slaves, ties with their master, not those with their kinsmen, were of prime importance.

With respect to these points, an investigation into present-day conditions prevailing among this group yielded the following results:

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567 1. Kidnapping, trade in human beings, and sentencing to slavery through judicial sentence have been officially forbidden since around 1905. These practices may have continued during the first few years after that date, but soon after they no longer /115/ took place (1). Consequently, no new slaves

1. This refers to the area of the self-governments, which did not come under the direct influence of the government until 1905. Only then could the "abolition of slavery" be carried out effectively there.

were added.

2. At present there are no people left who are regarded to be without personal rights before the judge. If there are, for instance, people who have no land of their own, it is never

● 178 /115 cont./ stated that they may not possess land, but only
567 that they do not need it because they are already being taken care of. Everyone knows that these people are free to move elsewhere to live and purchase or clear land. In several judicial proceedings it appeared that lower people were able to assert their rights against higher people.

178 3. In the above-mentioned regulation issued by the Prince
567 of Goa, which set the amount of the sunrang for different ranks
583 and classes in his realm, the sunrang for "the Prince's slaves" was fixed at 12 reals. No mention is made of other slaves. In the marriage register of the adat community of Borongloë, this sunrang for slaves was registered twice during the period from 1940 to 1949. However, they were not slaves of the Prince of Goa but slaves belonging to the adat community head and to a member of one of the prominent groups of relatives in kampong Pakatto, for whom the royal slaves' sunrang was entered.

4. Of a number of persons it may be said that they live with, and work for, their master. They have no land of their own. Their group of relatives comprises only a few families and is neither integrated nor traditional. They take part in the worship community of their master.

With these data before us, it is idle to debate whether someone is a slave or not, for example, because his parents were "slaves," and because a sunrang of 12 reals was paid for his marriage, but who, after all, is free to go wherever he likes, and has set up a trade in Macassar. While in his kampong he is still regarded as a hereditary slave because of his origin; in Macassar he is considered a clever tradesman.

178 The number of those who are regarded as slaves in their
567 own kampong is diminishing. No new slaves are being added to this number; rather it is decreasing. In some cases this process even came about /116/ through an official declaration of emancipation (sura' maradeka) issued by the master. This happened as late as 1939 in Mandar (1). In the majority of

● 178 /116 cont./
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1. Legally, of course, such a declaration of emancipation has not the slightest significance since the official emancipation of all slaves by the government.

cases, however, the emancipation was brought about by the fact that children of slaves moved to other regions and there obtained the same opportunities as other independent individuals in their striving to rise. A family can be said to be still regarded as slaves in the kampong only if it is generally known that the respective parents were slaves, that at their marriage the slaves' sunrang was paid, and that this marriage was entirely regulated and provided for by the master, and if this couple has then continued to live in the same kampong, does not own any land there but works the land of the master, and further performs the customary tasks for him.

[58a] Put in general terms, this implies that in Borongloë, at present, contempt is expressed only when marriage possibilities are discussed. Then it appears that ordinary people (tau samara) prefer not to enter into marriage ties with such people. Their marrying chances -- and this applies particularly to the young men -- are limited. Further, I noticed a certain contempt only when, as an investigator, I made inquiries concerning their official position. The work that the slaves perform is the same as the work performed by many others who are regarded as followers.

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567. In 1883, Kooreman did not mention slaves in his definition of the concept of followers. For him, slaves form a group apart. Friedericy (2) in his analysis of Makassarese-Buginese

2. See Friedericy, idem.,
p. 582.

178 /117 cont. / taken over by lower groups, like so many other
565 cultural elements belonging to the highest group. In this case,
567 the possession of slaves was not prohibited by this highest group
to the lower ones, but at the same time it was not simply per-
mitted, either. This explains why, in his first conversations
with the investigator, the adat community head claimed the
number of his ata to be very large. At the same time it ex-
plains why, when the ata question was repeatedly brought up,
he later remarked that it was a little silly to talk so much
about his ata.

Most of the external characteristics that distinguished
slaves during Kooreman's, and perhaps still in Friedericy's,
time have disappeared. A single characteristic to be found
with only a few individuals today is still reminiscent of a
complex which half a century ago occupied a much more im-
portant place in the culture.

Loyalty Oath

521 Whenever Makassarese men between fifteen and thirty-five
years of age -- referring to those I have in mind -- are together,
it is a part of etiquette to tell tales which give to the observer
an impression of boasting and exaggeration. Successes with
women (always unrecognizably indicated in the vaguest terms),
successes gained in a fight, or a victory in a verbal battle,
they like to elaborate on all these. A valiant deed or a regal
gesture is not kept quiet. In describing a feast, the number of
buffaloes slaughtered for the occasion, the number of guests
present, and the length of the festival are always made to
appear as great as possible. Earlier festivals, in these stories,
invariably surpass /118/ those of present times in all respects.
The size of the speaker's own group of relatives in the past is
clearly represented in this manner to those now alive, and
thus also to the younger men, who are always among the
audience.

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of
the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his
further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaeng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than
the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the
same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation
in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
554 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
567 Borongloë does not speak to a karaeng about his ata, but about
634 /117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would
be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place
himself on a level with a karaeng and thereby make himself
ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but
even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

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1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë
had the active right to vote.
In point of fact they participated
in the election. Before the war
I made no inquiries into this
matter. On page 552 of his
dissertation (1933), Friedericx
reports that slaves were barred
from the right to vote with
respect to the heads placed
over them. Here he is referring
to the slaves belonging to the
karaeng.

- 178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaeng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

838 /154 cont./ on roads. Her kinsmen accepted these trans-
gressions of the sex prohibitions without further ado.
Apparently they did not think of the forbidden contact situation
in which she found herself.

838 From a description by Matthes, it appears (1) that in his
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1. B. F. Matthes, Over de
Bissoe's of Heidense Priesters
der Boegineezen /Concerning
the Bissu or Heathen Priests
of the Buginese/.

time (around 1870) a number of bissu lived at several courts
of the princes. These were men who dressed and behaved
partly like women. They took care of the ornaments and
performed the ritual belonging to them. One old bissu, a
senile man, who was only charged with guarding the ornaments
[178] still lived in the palace of the Prince of Goa in 1939. At
that time women were already performing the ritual. In
1949, he seemed to have died. The guarding services had
then also passed into the hands of the women.

178 The disappearance of the bissu at the courts could,
838 among other things, be a consequence of the dawning
644 realization that, according to Moslem law, homosexuality
is prohibited. The reason that they had disappeared as much
as a generation ago at one court and, at the other court,
continued to exist until recently could possibly be found in the
differences in strictness of religious ideas held by various
princes.

838 /155/ Only in the little place of Segeri, 75 kilometers
793 north of Macassar, can a number of bissu still be found to this
day. There they take care of the ornament and perform the
ritual pertaining to it. A number of them are married and
live in their own house with wife and children. They dress

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see
Geneeskundig Tijdschrift
voor Nederlandsch Indië,
Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the
548 large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes
who make themselves available in exchange for money for
the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that
these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior
had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to
live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their
kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly
controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

• [178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier
times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place
as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as
male prostitutes.

535 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs
857 to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to
twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by
tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at
the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth
to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for

[534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana)
and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time

[533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary
between young men and women. In this dance they are to a
certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded
[838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a
[832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from
the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-
disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes
535 around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a
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743/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawé the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

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The kawe kawé did not disappear with the disappearance of the bissu institution, however, At present, insofar as they did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the [839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

838 /159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

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In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

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583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
584 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one
could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary
argument to explain the fact that a large number of women
remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also
used as an "explanation"
for the existence of
marriage by flight. It is
safer to assume that in
times like those after 1929,
the number of marriages
by flight increased some-
what through a gradual
adjustment toward new
relationships with regard
to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance,
cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a
marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive
costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts,
and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does
not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the
feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
previous one.

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When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
same amount as a number of years before. The members of

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435 /162 cont./ such a group did not like to admit this toward
583 the outside world, however. It is true, therefore, that during
585 this time it repeatedly happened that a marriage did not take
place, on account of the amounts which in their own opinion
should be spent on the wedding feast.

But this state of affairs did not last long. Initially, it was still agreed among kinsmen that the old amount would be maintained outwardly, but that in reality they would be satisfied with less. Outwardly, the social standing of the group of relatives thereby remained on the same level. But gradually the amounts were adjusted to the new conditions, though little or nothing was thereby changed in the intent of the feast or in the entertainment of the guests.

/163/ By the same token, scarcely any difference could be observed between a wedding feast in 1940 and one celebrated in 1949 in the same group, even though in that period the valuation of sawahs and buffaloes increased by about tenfold. While in 1940 one buffalo and one goat were killed for the feast, in 1949 one buffalo and two goats were killed for the occasion. In 1949 one naturally never heard the complaint, either, that a marriage could not come about because of the excessive expenses of the wedding. In its striking frequency, this complaint remained confined to the beginning of the 1930's. The high expenses are nevertheless still named today as an excuse whenever other reasons which one does not like to mention make a certain marriage undesirable (1).

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1. Kampong Bontorambo numbered 22 widows and 13 widowers who had not remarried, that is, fully 4 percent of the total of 787 residents. Only two married men and two married women appeared

595 / 170 cont. /

2. Little betel is chewed
by the generation that is
now thirty-five to forty
years of age or younger.

Nor does he ever name the kampong where the other wife
lives as his destination when he leaves. To speak the truth
would be an unforgivable rudeness. But a man who, in the
opinion of his first wife, already was too much away from
home was told: "When a man goes out a great deal, a wife
is lazy with the cooking."

[593] /171/ Co-wives display a stronger than normal desire
to attach their husbands to themselves, in comparison with
monogamously married women. They make sure that the
meal is ready when he comes home, that a clean sarong lies
in readiness for him, and that his guests are especially well
[574] entertained, since a man finds it pleasant if he is known as a
good host. On the other hand, they know how to make their
anger apparent to him by the same means, by letting him wait
for his food, by neglecting to care for his clothes, and so
forth. Among older men it can be observed that they stay
for a longer time with the same wife. In the majority of
cases this appears to be the first wife.

The second wife is always lower than the first; at least
she is regarded as lower. This circumstance makes it easier
for the first wife to be content with her existence. The great
dread of a woman who was not related to her husband appeared
to be the fact that now she would become the second wife
because he married one of his nieces. As regards descent,
however, she was regarded as his equal, and there was in
every respect an acceptable reason why his niece should not
be regarded as his equal.

595 The opposition of the first wife is not the only reason
606 why a second marriage comes about only with difficulty.
607 Another reason is based upon the opposition of the relatives.

585 /180 cont./ The higher guests come at this point and stand before the bed, one after the other. They take some karuntigi between their fingers, mix this with oil and powder, and amidst the mumbling of a spell, they smear this mixture on one of the fingers, on the arm, sometimes on the forehead or the neck of the bride. The place where the mixture is applied and the manner have their significance. However, this ritual is not [577] performed by all the guests, but only by the higher and by a [554] number of older ones who themselves have many children and [887] many sawahs, in other words people who seem to possess much "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means) and who now, on this occasion, want to transfer something of this to the bride. When a great [554] number of guests come "akkaruntigi," this raises the social standing of the host.

- [178] In the afternoon of the day following the "akkaruntigi," the bridegroom leaves -- according to a very old, but at present no longer observed, custom from the lap of his mother --, amidst a great deal of lamenting on the part of his relatives, for the bride's house in order to arrive there around sundown. Only men are present on this occasion. On the way and especially upon arrival at the bride's house, a loud dikir is heard. It is said that formerly at that moment a greeting of welcome was addressed to the bridegroom by one /181/ of the wife's relatives who for this purpose stationed herself at the top of the ladder in front of the door opening. The only time [178] that I experienced this a certain embarrassment could be sensed. This was considered very old-fashioned. The number of those in Borongloë who are familiar with this address is small. The Pinati of Bontoramba gave me the text here reproduced, independent of any festival. The four-line verses reported at the end, in which bridegroom and bride are introduced speaking, were actually incorporated into the address, according to him.

126 The text was checked for uniformity in spelling with the
585 assistant to the government linguist for South Celebes. The

585 /194 cont./ festival is the being "good" of man and wife (pabadjikang). There are no further guests present on the occasion. Only the mutual housemates of man and wife are invited. Together the young man and wife are seated on the bridal bed (2). The wife has betel and areca nuts in her hand.

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2. The woman was carried to the bed by her oldest brother. A second brother carried her back again at the conclusion of the ceremony. These brothers evidently regarded this as an honor.

He must ask her for them; she must surrender them to him. In public, therefore, she complies with a request made by him. If she begins by refusing, she must be "bribed" by him. He promises her a present. Sometimes he is urged to take the betel and areca nuts away from her forcibly. The element of competition becomes clearly apparent here. Just as in the case of the eating ceremonial, comments are made by those present. Here the man must win in the end. He must obtain the betel and areca nuts since this indicates that man and wife are "good" (badji') with each other, and that is ultimately the purpose of the entire wedding festival.

● [178] The pabadjikang was not celebrated in former times, according to one of the informants, unless sexual intercourse had already taken place /195/. At present it is celebrated, at least in Goa, even if no sexual contact has taken place, as for instance in the case of a child marriage.

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833 Several men who had been married for years stated proudly that they had immediately been "good" with their wife. By this they meant that shortly after, possibly the very evening of the nikka', coitus had taken place. Here physical prowess

Makassarese-Buginese: Van Heekeren says that there has been a change in ruler rights. Formerly for example, if the ruler of Goa wanted a good horse of a commoner he would say to that man, "Yours is a fine horse", and the man would say, "It is not mine but yours". Now, the ruler still gets what he wants, for example the horse, but he pays for it, say f 50. Thus there seems to be a gradual change.

Sadang: The following information is from a man named Heeren, a sociologist from Amsterdam, now a high school teacher in Makassar and working on his dissertation on a village northwest of Rantepao. His village, he says, is pretty well spread out like all of Sadang now. Formerly they lived on high hills but it was difficult to carry water to these positions and they had to leave their buffaloes below where they were easily stolen by the Buginese. They still have a feast and ceremony of driving off all Buginese evil. This is called mabugi. There are about eighty houses in this village including some large ones, and thus a big population. According to Heeren one sees mostly sawah at first, but then one begins to note behind hedges and so forth, houses including very ornate structures. These houses are a couple of hundred meters apart. Around them are evidently gardens. Rice barns are important because they show wealth. The village extends for about two miles by one mile. He chose this village because in Rantepao there is no puang, and thus there are fewer complications. There are tomakaka, commoners, and slaves. The most important feasts are the death feasts. They have a long street, not for cars, and up from it on a hill lie the houses. There are two plazas, rante, and here they celebrate such feasts. Here also are located scores of stone pillars, some three to four meters high. Buffaloes are tied to these pillars. Great debts are accumulated by sacrificing buffaloes. Each family tries to outdo the others in potlatch fashion, and after some sixty-three buffaloes for example, are killed, they will sell their rice fields and go into debt. There is a tremendous amount of waste. It seems that giving buffaloes to others requires return later and they try to outdo each other like the Kwakiutl. There is always a great fuss over property ownership. Heeren said that there are only three puang, and he thinks they came in about the fifteenth century (van Wouden thinks that they are native like the tomokaka, but that the idea came in from the Buginese). He said that he has many Sadang students in Makassar, and as in the homeland they are keen for education.

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- 342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house
of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying
"Toekano Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a
space underneath the house. The house is set along the road
on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood,
topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that
this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors
from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but
this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was
according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
- 342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not
178 pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
764 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always re-
513 moved. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk
think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather
spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the
plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in
each house.
- 272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has
done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and
census of the village by houses.
- 632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs
proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
625 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well
102 things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs
there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong.
Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police,
two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one
of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi
(which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are
five kepala kampongs under the karaëng. These in order of
size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper)
with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs,
Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kam-
pongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all,
under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they
said, were ranked according to the size of their respective
kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]
- 368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There
is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

764 Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
565 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photo-
graph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave
stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and
small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are al-
most not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site
of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose
on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the
house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died
last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that al-
though these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally
"slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photo-
graph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together
his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the
• 178 Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
782 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
412 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers,
etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young
ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son
follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths
now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop
found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This be-
longed to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large
knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows
really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a
student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map)
743 [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
758 Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum
and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless
the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows.
These dwelling places are much better than native houses.
There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the
children especially get leprosy, and that when children are
born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

567 age. If they are over forty today they do not care so much,
152 and would admit it (proud to be slaves?), but if they are under
forty they get very angry. Sensitive. I was told that nearly
all slaves are descended from the poor. I asked about one
family. They said that they had a very small house and were
very poor. Another slave family is still living with a master
family. They said that they didn't want to go off.

342 Ground plan modifications during the past fifty years: today
• 178 there are generally fewer people in each house than was true
161 fifty years ago. A house like Saleh's now has eight inhabitants
592 whereas formerly there may have been fifteen. And the small
houses have many more. The population has risen some
despite the slave losses. There is not so much moving
around. They saw a difference in making a comparison with
the United States.

167 Migration: on this subject there is much discussion. In
521 general, two kinds of people left the area during the last fifty
years, sailors and contract coolies. They went to many
places, especially to Banjarmasin to work in connection with
rubber or oil. Many people would like to go away, and talk
about it, but they have no money so they have to remain.
When a traveler returns he tells about his adventures in visits
to friends' houses. There is no central hangout.

167 Immigration: there seems to be relatively little moving in.
I asked if they would agree with the generalization that the
poorer ones are those who tend to leave, but the well-off tend
to stay. They saw the point.

Travel: we again talked about the sailors and coolies.
They said that many never left Balombaru at all. They
mentioned some ideas regarding danger in the outside world,
but not much of the magic sort. They saw the point involved
in certain Javan ideas, but insisted that it was not the same
here. There seems to be plenty of resistance to leaving on
[593] the part of the elders. They try hard to keep the people
from going away.

205 Communication: there is not a single telephone in the kam-
206 pong. The nearest telegraph station is in Makassar and
207 Sungguminasa. Mail goes to Sungguminasa from Makassar,
and thence to Djongaya. From there the kepala kampong
brings the mail to the kampong of Balombaru. And if he
doesn't go there for ten days, there is considerable delay.
There is not a single radio in Balombaru.

203 No one reads newspapers. They do read surat kabar dinding
literally, wall newspaper, i.e., news bulletins--Analyst]
put up on the walls by the Ministry of Information. They said
also that there was plenty of class rumor spreading. And

000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He¹ knew of Latowa and
 [538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the
 565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy
 114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there
 567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala,
 bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the
 maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are
 ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are des-
 cendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear
 that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even
 look different. But he added their women are often prettier
 than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women,
 however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that
 keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc.
 might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on
 saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the
 women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to
 touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it
 was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added
 that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch
 in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is
 still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.

565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a
 582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This
 684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.
 602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was
 based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was
 impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for
 it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for
 "noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused
 793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.

838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.

778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They
 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them

178 gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has
 none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all
 are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals
 and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati
 in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few.
 They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the
 necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed
 once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in
 weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain
 in weight foreshadowed welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they
 mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning
 the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old

practices.

¹[i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru.
 --Analyst]

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions.

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble. The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadours who also come to a feast.

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- 582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they live in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous.
After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a
tendency toward endogamy.
- 326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris.
They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and
that men used types according to their own rank.
- 563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here.
They live on islands.
- 463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.
- 286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kam-
pong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs
are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not
much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time,
and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye,
but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.
- 224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on else-
where. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.
- 346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.
The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
565 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
567 sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about
the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said
that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but
there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They
agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-
husband) marriage.
- 685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in
some places girls will not marry a non-thief.
- 178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be
something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong,
which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used
by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris.
His father's photograph shows him in former years with it.
It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

accompanied by a feast. At the same time teeth are filed. They have a name for this feast, something like akatan. Between the ages of ten and fifteen the boys are cut and there is a big feast. At that time their teeth are filed. I asked about the story which states that if no children are forthcoming a man will be cut again and again. They agreed that it was so; if there are no children they think that perhaps enough was not cut off, so they cut off some more. (This is a fine case of blood letting for fertility.) They agreed that this operation is not true circumcision, but merely the removal of a piece, rather than the whole prepuce.

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Only the upper teeth are filed.

They showed me a pamor damascened kris and knife. It looked like it had wavy incisions on the blade.

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They knew about the knee bent throwing sticks of Pangkadjene, but they said they do not have any here. They were interested in the boomerang description, but had never heard of it before, evidently.

They said that once there were many shields used here. They were known as lango, I believe. They had also heard of coats of mail. They told of various kinds of praus, some used only for fishing, others only for trade.

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They also knew that, formerly, smelting of iron was carried on here.

They said that trees can be sold without selling the land. For example, they said that a man in Makassar might own trees in the village and come there to get the fruit. But they added, that usually such a man rents the land on which his trees are situated. Evidently some Chinese are land owners, but it appears that this goes back to former times. Evidently this antedated the Dutch law against Chinese ownership of land in Indonesia.

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They knew about the mutual property in marriage and the separate property and my terms are all right. They also agreed that formerly they had a form of inheritance divided by odd and even numbers, but they said that now this system was largely gone and that a simple division took place, with the boys getting more, in Mohammedan fashion. Nevertheless, they did say that different kinds of things were inherited by boys and girls.

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I asked about the women soldiers and they had evidently heard of it. They said that perhaps this was a hundred years ago.

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They said that the annual animal sacrifice to the gaŭkang by the ruler is still done today. At least one buffalo must be killed for the gaŭkang every year.

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848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times
● 178 they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to
the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus
I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line,
and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a
lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was
probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all
on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not
present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At
the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and
his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They
said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman
of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from
former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-com-
mittal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also
said that they no longer have the custom of using money to
get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do
defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple
is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part
of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They
still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest
official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger
tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--
Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day
the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it
was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery
with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of
old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic,
mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In
addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

167 remarkably, one of the kampongs here in Bukaka, namely
563 Tolangi, is largely populated by descendants of Toradja who
were formerly slaves. They speak Buginese now, but if their
relatives visit they speak Toradja. Formerly, if a radja
wanted workers, he told the kepala kampung and he in turn
ordered the Toradja of Tolangi to go there. Thus they were
the slaves of the radja. I must see the place.

609 Evidently Bukaka has no idea of foreign magic. When a
574 new family moves in, other people come and visit, and they
often hold feasts. There are no Europeans here, but there
203 are some Chinese, etc., as above. If a man returns he tells
the folk the news from the outside world by visiting in their
houses. There is no central meeting place.

484 As for travel, there are relatively few people who ever go
828 away on trips. As for most of the people, they never go away.
Many would like to travel, but have no money. They are
certainly not afraid, and Andi adds that the Buginese are al-
ways brave.

365 As for communication there have been a few changes. This
206 is especially true of the roads and auto buses. There are a
207 few telephones and a few radios too, and electricity runs as
far as the Kepala kampung's house. (Not very far). The
205 nearest telegraph station is in Watumpone. Postal delivery
goes also only as far as Watumpone from where the kepala
wanua informs the addressees that they have letters waiting
for them. There are no mailmen, and few letters ever ar-
203 rive. They don't write them. Very few people ever read
204 newspapers. When they go to Watumpone they read the In-
178 formation Ministry's wall bulletin, but I am told that the com-
mon folk even pass these up. They are not interested. There
is no local paper, and they seem never to expect one. What
they get are Makassarese and some Javan ones. They also
get the Pandji Negara, a monthly from the Information Minis-
try. No bulletins are posted in the kampongs, but only in
Watumpone. They agreed that the bulletins at least were a
new development as far as news was concerned.

443 No peddlers come in from the outside here, and there are
504 no praus because it is inland. However, in Badjoë on the
coast there are plenty of boats.

203 The market is quite a place to meet people and get local
186 news and gossip. Most of the people here, except the teachers
829 and a few others, are interested only in local news. Evidently
there is very little interest in Indonesia as a whole among the
mass of the population. This is really a dead place. As for
ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world at
large, Andi had some geographical ideas, as did the guru, but

177 The economic life of this region has changed relatively
342 little over the past fifty years. Perhaps the most spectacular
change has been the appearance of automobiles, but also
electricity to some extent, radio, ready-made cloth, and
water pipes. But in general, things are not too different
from the way they were fifty years ago. One noticeable thing,
however, is the predominance of corrugated iron roofing on
houses.

291 As for old crafts, most of them are still practiced. Women,
286 however, no longer weave men's blouses, but only sarongs.

178 This is because men tend to wear shirts or coats of trade
cloth, for the most part ready-made. Formerly, in the pre-
Dutch period, the kampong folk were not allowed to wear
shirts or blouses, but could only put on shoulder cloths. Every
woman here can still weave and they know how to spin and did
so during the Japanese time. But now they usually buy thread.

[294] There are a few sewing machines in the kampong, several of
them owned by the tailor. When I told them of the rapid
changes in American material culture in the past fifty years
they were quite amazed, as evidently they had thought the
United States had had cars and so forth for a long time. They
saw the contrast between fast change there and slow change
[323] here. There are potters in the kampong and all of them are
462 women. There is at least one smith too. The food is about
178 the same now as before. They responded in dead-pan fashion
262 when I told them about balanced diets. They said formerly
there was no butter, except perhaps for the radja, but that
now there was much butter used by the commoners and this
was believed to be a change. Also there is some use of
tinned foods, but evidently not much.

178 As for economic self-sufficiency of the kampong, it has
433 not changed much, the people ordinarily buying only what they
cannot produce themselves, for example salt and tobacco,

241 Agriculture is about the same. I told them about the use of
airplanes for planting and machine reaping and binding in the
United States, and they were quite impressed. They were also
impressed when I told them that machine agriculture is already
being used in parts of Timor. Harvesting here is still done as
178 before. As for changes in house construction, the only differ-
342 ence seems to be that of the tin roofs. I later learned that the
592 houses here often contain more people than in Makassar. Fre-
quently there are twenty inhabitants to a house, and the average
is easily ten per house.

292 As for clothing, in addition to those mentioned above, it is
291 said that the fine adat shawls for women, like the padjoge, are
few. However, each woman tries to keep one for
feasts.

few. However, each woman tries to keep one for feasts. During the Japanese period many of the old clothes were ruined and they have not yet been replaced because cloth is now both scarce and expensive. For example, Andi said that the main reason why men wear ordinary shirts is because the old costume takes so much cloth and it is hard to get today. The same thing holds for pants. He agreed that in general the older men still wear a sarong, but that the younger ones tend to wear pants. He said that formerly there would have been much trouble had he appeared at the office dressed in pants and a shirt. But today no one cares because they know that it is hard to get any clothes at all. As for export and import, there never was very much in this kampong so it is hardly worth speaking of.

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As for changes in the market place and in market activities, they knew of none except that with buses and bicycles people could go further. The market rings I mentioned before. Formerly, in pre-Dutch time, the local people used V.O.C. [probably Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (i.e., Dutch East India Company)--Analyst] coins and also kepeng. Now they still have kepeng, but they use rupiah. Formerly there was some barter and the Kepala kampong described it to me.

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As I remember it, five people own automobiles, including four Buginese and one Chinese. Before the war there were three. There are about twenty people who can drive a car. There is much travel by bus today.

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As for the economic system, it is mainly individualistic and to some degree runs along family lines. But the main thing is the individual. However, in matters of inheritance it usually runs like this: inherited goods are so divided that the sons get the larger share, and the girls the smaller one. But the girls generally get the house. This is important because the usual practice is matrilineal for residence, though there is no hard and fast rule, and if a man has more property than his wife in his kampong they may live there. Nevertheless, the usual practice is for the man to go to his wife's house or kampong, and later if possible build a house in his kampong. This reflects, possibly, a previous matrilineal state. Andi said that if one's son happened to be mean, he might refuse to give the house to daughters, but this was not right. I explained primogeniture, and he got angry at the thought of it. This was one of the few times he got really excited. He said that if his brother tried that on him he would fight, and even knife him.

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As for changes in political organization in the area during the last fifty years, there has evidently not been very much in the kampung or in the wanua, although perhaps the Dutch made the kampongs larger by combining several under one kepala kampung. The number of wanua evidently did not change. The old organization of Bone was as follows. At the bottom below the earth line were the people at large, the rakyat together with their kepala kampung, who, however, might be a noble too. Above the earth line in the heaven realm (so considered) were first of all the thirty-one kepala wanua, and then above them were the seven princes and above them the two tomakaka, one the tomakaka lolo and one the tomakaka tua together with the makadangetawa who was concerned mainly with foreign affairs. Finally at the top was the [radja] with his right hand man, the punggawa, as head of the army. Orders from the radja to the people went via the tomakaka tua to the seven princes, then to the kepala wanua concerned, and thence to the kepala kampung and thus to the people. Requests from the latter to the kepala kampung then went up to the kepala wanua concerned and thence to the seven princes and then to the tomakaka lolo and finally to the radja. However if a person were a noble he might take his requests directly to the radja and the latter in return might give more direct orders. As in Goa, nobles formerly scorned a lowly job. But at the wanua level they must always be nobles. There is some change noticeable today in that they have only one tomarilalang. It runs something like this today: at the top is still the radja together with the makadangetawa who is now concerned only with internal affairs and below the radja is this one tomarilalang and then come the seven princes or the Aru Pitu each representing a department of the government (but at present one office, that of Aru Udjung [probably the last (in rank?) of seven aru--Analyst] is vacant), then come the thirty-one kepala wanua as before and below the earth line the rakyat also unchanged.

Formerly (now too?), when a noble made a request to the radja, he first made his request to the tomarilalang and together they made the request to the radja.

As for the names of the classes arranged in descending order they are as follows: first the six noble classes known collectively as bangsawan or ana ma'padjung.

1. patola
2. tjera - tjitjing
3. tjera - dua
4. tjera - tiga
5. tjera - ampat
6. tjera - lima

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by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampung, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampung is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampung was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so.

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampung there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone.

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place.

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarese gaukang. (footnote p. 61)--Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced.

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had

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to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad experiences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him *sembah* [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties would get much support. He also said that the relatively

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M conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian
 665 National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the
 521 more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was
 no political life here and so there is practically no friction
 between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are
 simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a
 person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep
 still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy
 and only to friends.

M As for education, there appears to have been little change
 871 during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements re-
 178 garding this.

M There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or
 582 endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within
 771 the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Moham-
 178 medan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very
 little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they
 are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was
 more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said
 that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to
 be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are
 the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are
 further away. There is much less, indeed very little, mar-
 riage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside

M of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number
 602 of members in various families in the kampong. Some
 565 families are so large that they spread widely and relatives
 212 can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds
 601 of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar
 palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The
 lower the class the less the spread of the known family and
 relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their rela-
 tives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third
 degree were well known and that there are many large

M families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the
 602 Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two
 171 hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large fami-
 lies and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This
 is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over
 Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not
 many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there
 were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedan.
 As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said
 there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpono. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still dancing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
576 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
431 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
567 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
181 regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do
not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young.
The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty
ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They
obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring
in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
1778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said
to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women.
It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth
usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from
heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The
radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most
men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same
house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or
three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine
because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has
several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently
slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
178 f. 22 or f. 44. They said they like to get more because they
567 were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price
goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master.
There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said
that the children follow the status of the father, but I think
he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I
don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say
that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588 must be punished by five years of exile separate from her
husband.

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army
post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen to-
gether. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that
even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare
at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any re-
sistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quali-
ty of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together.
There is no dancing together. There are no pantun con-
tests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though
possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in pri-
vate. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might
be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry
her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not
virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may
get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is empha-
sized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There
are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?)
in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's
house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house,
then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the
man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of
matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with
Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tenden-
cy toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The
man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs
to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although
● 178 all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not
leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They
said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampung where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampung in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status.

As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set.

As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners.

In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

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554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampung wears one.
However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it.
In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and
yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles.
Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only
nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem
to be alternates of all sorts. They call me pa'aka tuan, as
I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone.
(This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Ma-
kassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they
said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the
vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was former-
ly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and
the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when ap-
proaching their superiors or when passing them. They
squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and
remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with
them. They wait until they are asked a question. And
every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the
Kepala kampung meets me or says goodbye he holds our
right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way
over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt
on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the
feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very
best place. The Kapala kampung and other common guests
sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which
the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked
the Kepala kampung who was waiting in the car to come onto
the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
● 178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is
no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As
for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation
or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means
any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in
the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They
saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for
776 the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them
(maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those
that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong
knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names
of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew
saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata.
Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo,
but called them popo, as did the Makassarrese. In all spirit
cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping
or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of
these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used
now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the
"spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan
ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa
Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go
back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got
548 much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
535 it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an
[759] aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they
are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and
also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example,
to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They
know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all
this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated
them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry,
etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and
that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as
ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they
act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go
for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night
for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he
would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved
wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampung knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampung knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India.

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampung the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampung. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar.

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

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this direction. Here again they are the "walking dead". I got the idea that I might entitle the section on Bone "The Land of the Walking Dead". When I described the amusements of New York City to Andi he said that he would die there because of the lack of rest or sleep. But the old Sulewatang and the others were evidently fascinated by, for example, ice dancing. And the movies are always the big attraction. But Thierens told me that most of the people did not like to leave Bone. His boy, for example, when asked if he would like to go to Sengkang, makes up excuses. Thierens said it is because of the old fear of war, enslavement, etc. If so, Andi and the others do not say so. It is a closed world, and evidently the outside is really the outside.

As for the disappearance of old customs, the trend is general and there is not much to say. The death punishment is no longer used here. The calendar system used is the common one and the people asked knew nothing, and this even included the guru, about the Mohammedan or other calendric systems. They said the only regular feasts are Lebaran and Lebaran Hadji and Ramadan. The cycle of life feasts are birth, sunat [circumcision], Mohammedan confirmation, marriage, birth [of a child], and death. That is all. They knew nothing about the rice mother and have no rice feasts that I could find out about, and no memories of them. As for the old people mourning at the disappearance of the old ways, there is said to be little concern. (In Makassar I did find some.) Evidently there is so little change here that there is no reason for concern. And they are the walking dead anyway.

Second trip to Pampanua for the birth feast with padjoge: I went over Saturday afternoon with Andi, two children, and two friends, together with the Mado Bukaka (the kepala kampung). The Sulewatang said that he had had no sleep all of the previous night. There were thousands of guests, three buffalo had been killed and were being eaten, and hundreds of women were working at the preparation of different kinds of food. I asked Thierens later who paid for this, and he said the people. The padjoge dance until dawn if there is any demand. They can go on and on. There were long lines of men eating. No women were visible as they were in the rear part of the house, some peeping out. There is not much new, except that they called the young lad who was a bus chauffeur. He is an ordinary kampung boy with lower third grade schooling. But he had made a movie machine from bicycle parts, etc. He bought a lens in Makassar for f.25 and uses a flashlight. Where there was no metal for tubing he used bamboo cleverly. The apparatus is hand-turned

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Makassar OGB
Sadang OGB

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs.

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524. --Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening.

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it.

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry.

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau.

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000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
586 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
153 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about
152 the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the
awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't
let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not
wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the
women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese
men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in
the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be
that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but
if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble
in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver
and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final
they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration
papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage
is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of
one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

• 178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to
the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas,
the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said
that this will mean very little in this area except for the
formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to re-
ceive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect,
too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean
further insecurity for his position. There are great prepa-
rations being made for this event at the present time. There
will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently
a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge.
This is merely a generic term. At the top are the
ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here
(though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one
hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng,
descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and
tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depend-
ing on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera
descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only